275 216 191 he paid twenty centavos and in return for which payment his name was announced over the loud speaker as well as the name of a person to whom he might wish to "dedicate" the piece.

275 216 191 198 In 1959, there occurred a set of circumstances which permitted the Aguacatenangueros to gain control of the elements of the cantina complex, and in this year cantinas were established permanently in Aguacatenango. As the result of some difficulties in Pinola, the cantineros there were required by the town government to sell or otherwise get rid of their tocadiscos. [432] And three or four of them sold their tocadiscos to the men in Aguacatenango. These gas generator-driven units were set up in various yards in the community, the loudspeakers were mounted on tall poles as is the custom in the neighboring towns, and men came to these door yards when they were drinking to request [171] pieces be played with appropriate dedicatory remarks. The cantineros in Aguacatenango then simply filled out the rest of the cantina complex as they had seen it in the plaza.

• 442 275 432 439 They began to buy aguardiente by the garafón, most of it from clandestine distillers in the neighboring towns who deliver it to the buyers, and also beer and other distilled beverages, these being delivered by San Cristóbal distributors or bought and transported there by cantineros.

275 Thus the retailers of alcohol drunk by Aguacatenangueros are no longer ladinos and local widows, but local men. Some of

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maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs. The Indians usually sell their wheat at 90 pesos per 100 kgs. to Teopisca truckers, or at best gain 110 pesos per 100 kgs. by bringing it to the mills themselves. From their perspective corn is the more valuable crop, not only from the point of view of subsistence, but also for sale since if they hold it in storage they can sell it at double the price at which the values are calculated in the census (.60 peso per kg.). They do not have facilities to store wheat in order to take maximum advantage of price changes.

The census I made in 1964 of land ownership and use by the 304 families living in the center of the township (Table 5) shows that 47 percent of the households have no land other than the ejido grant of one hectare. Because of the growing population, the land per household has decreased. A comparison with the 1958 census of land ownership of 280 households in the center indicates that 89 families now have less land than they had at that date, 72 have the same amount, and 44 have more land; 99 unknown cases include new families which have been created since the earlier date, families which were no longer in existence in 1964, and households in which there is a lack of data on the question of landholding.

The strong sentiment against the sale of one's own land, well documented in the monographic literature,[2] is expressed here:

If a man sells his land without sickness, people say he is lazy. The best thing to buy if you have money is land. Unlike cattle, it does not die, it does not get lost, and it does not need watching. It is not the same with a horse. When you buy one, you have to watch it and care for it and when it dies, all is over. You lose all your money. But with land, in two years you have the land paid for and it remains as a gift. It gives us what we eat.

Land is rarely sold to outsiders. If a man needs money and has a buyer from out of town, the civil authorities raise the money and buy the plot, selling it in pieces as they find buyers. Only one small plot of land has been sold to an outsider in my knowledge of the community. This plot

2. See Tax (1957), Wagley (1941). Oscar Lewis (1963:125 indicates that in Tepotzlan the breakdown of the resistance to selling land was associated with a growing awareness of profits to be made in the regional and national economy.

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pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation. When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán. When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the following factors:

1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family. If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

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usual, and seeing the pesos, picked them up. The "spirit of the money" left the village forever. The story reveals not only the sense of deprivation Indians feel in losing wealth to Ladinos (historically land the Indians had lost through fraud or legal trickery during the Porfirio Diaz period), but also their realization of their own responsibility for letting their assets slip out of their control.

Payment of interest on money borrowed is justified in the calculations of the Indians for loans made within as well as outside of the community. Interest, called *shol tak'in,* or "head" of money, makes it possible for the borrower to work, and thus to earn, so the "owner" has the right to charge for the use. The rate on loans made within the pueblo has risen from 2 or 3 pesos a month for 100 pesos to 5 pesos, thus equalizing the rate with that charged in the neighboring Ladino town. The same rate is applied between relatives as nonkin. The advantage of intracommunity borrowing is that the lender does not demand an immediate return, or as high security. Ladinos of the neighboring town tend to demand items of greater value than the debt held as security—one Ladino held title to land worth 1,000 pesos for a 50-peso debt, and threatened to foreclose. Within the pueblo, security of about the same value as the loan is asked except in the case of neighbors and relatives who can be reminded every day of the debt. And they are.

Markets. In marketing, the Indians of Tzo'ontahal have neither extended nor gained control over the selling and buying operations that have been pursued since before the opening of the Pan-American Highway in 1955. The pottery which is produced locally was formerly carried on horseback to the smaller towns within a radius of fifty miles. The pottery was marketed directly by the men of the household which produced it, with no specialization in trading by commercial travelers, as had happened in the Zapotec and other areas of Mexico. Since the penetration of the Pan-American Highway, the men take the pottery produced in their households by bus or on the trucks to either San Cristóbal or Comitán. This tends to polarize trading operations and dry up the traffic into small towns not connected by the highway. As a result, the wholesale trade in San Cristóbal and Comitán has increased in the past decade, with dealers

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178 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to
442 sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio
443 of Lok'ibal in the municipio of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44
471 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportunities. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of
273 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external
443 markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale
434 purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-de-
[675] veloped home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liq-
[681] uor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main
[583] gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened
[295] by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during
[216] fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the
[548] forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter
[435] for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not
241 take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per
442 unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe
443 that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the
[435] grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and
[489] San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

members entry to the ejido colony, an area where traffic was formerly excluded because of the monopoly by the large trucking companies. Both the fruit and root of chayote are sold in August by some families who have a supply over consumption needs. It is brought along with pottery to the market of San Cristóbal where it is sold to *regatones*, retail sellers who have stalls.

Decisions as to what crops to plant are not responsive to market fluctuation. With the major emphasis on subsistence crops, the farmers have little margin of land on which to experiment with profitable but risky ventures. They have little knowledge or experience. There are no full-time specialists in market operations, although the truck drivers may gradually assume a greater role in this respect.

Very few Indians of the region, and none of those in Tzo?ontahal sell corn to the National Warehouses (Almacenes Nacionales de Deposito), although the warehouses offer prices higher than the going market price for corn. (940 pesos per ton in comparison to 500 to 600 pesos at harvest or 800 pesos offered a few months later by wholesalers who come to town). The reason for their failure to take advantage of the higher market price is that they do not have sufficiently large crops to pay the transportation costs of 28.75 pesos or the "tip" to ensure that their crops will not be declared substandard because of impurities, rotten kernels, insects, or excessive water content. In addition to that, they must spend time at the warehouses and in traveling. The alternative to the sale of crops to national warehouses is sale to wholesalers.

Dealing with external agencies. Entering into competitive areas where they were formerly excluded, the Indians are encountering opposition from competitors and are the prey of departmental and state government agents. The reduplication of bureaucracies at the state and departmental level means that they will be subject to the double "bite" or *mordida* if they pursue their enterprises. Operating on minimal capital, they are not able to fulfill all the requirements, or buy all the necessary permits and licenses. Because of monopolization of certain traffic by the larger syndicates of truck owners, they proceed without permits and are often caught.